The German Tribune

A WEEKLY REVIEW OF THE GERMAN PRESS

nburg, 1 January 1978
enteenth Year - No. 820 - By air

C 20725 C

Ties with Moscow have ground to a halt



We will doubtless never know whether the talks between Willy andt and Leonid Brezhnev would have wed instrumental in bringing about ogress in relations with the Soviet ion.

The talks were certainly included with ight of hand by both sides in the hedule of Herr Brandt's flight to To- o for a three-day conference of the cialist International – only to be ncelled at the last minute.

They were no doubt scratched for the ted reason – a bout of 'flu that had d low the Soviet leader – but the ore intriguing issue by far is why Mr ezhnev wanted to confer with Herr andt in *Moscow in the first place.*

Mr Brezhnev, after all, announced his ntention of revisiting Bonn a year ago nd has repeatedly postponed the dates nvisaged.

This year of *Waiting for Brezhnev* ay, in retrospect, be regarded as a year f absolute stagnation in ties between onn and Moscow.

There have been no distinct mishaps ut there has not, for that matter, been e slightest progress; certainly not in omparison with the years of Herr andt's Chancellorship and immediate- y thereafter.

In 1972, for instance, the treaties be- ween Bonn and Moscow were signed nd Chancellor Brandt and General Sec- etary Brezhnev *met in the Crimea.*

In 1973 Mr Brezhnev visited this ountry, in 1974 Helmut Schmidt, Herr andt's successor at the Bonn Chancel- ry, visited Moscow and in 1975 Presi- ent Scheel also visited the Soviet nion.

In comparison, then, there can be no insaying that ties between Bonn and oscow have *ground to a standstill.*

There has been no *shortage* of attempts on this country's part to reactivate talks with the Kremlin. Foreign Minister Genscher has tried hard, albeit without visible success.

It is noted at both the Chancellor's Office and the Foreign Office that the Soviet Union is always willing to engage in contacts, to signal encouragement, to *emphasise its goodwill and to assure* Bonn of the importance that is attached to ties with this country.

Yet in the final analysis the Soviet Union refuses to play ball, and the longer Mr Brezhnev's visit is delayed the more difficult it becomes to carry out, what with the ever greater expectations that are placed in it.

Why is the Soviet Union intent on this polite but implacable blockade? We are reduced to conjecture, but not all conjectures can be mistaken.

Mr Brezhnev, it is alleged, has encountered domestic difficulties with regard to his detente policy. If he visits this country he must, at the very least, return with a bumper economic package, *the prospects of which are dim.*

His health is also noted not to be the best, while security problems too may be a contributory factor. The Soviet *Union* is reckoned to be dissatisfied with the role this country has assumed at Belgrade, insisting so bureaucratically on Basket Three of the Helsinki accords. *There has even been a renewal of* Soviet grousing about alleged remilitarisation of the Federal Republic of Ger-

Continued on page 3



Brandt in Tokyo

Japanese Premier Takeo Fukuda (centre) chats with French Socialist leader François Mitterrand (left) and former Bonn Chancellor Willy Brandt (right) in Tokyo on 18 December. Mitterrand and Brandt were two of the leaders of twenty Social Democratic parties from nineteen countries in Tokyo for a three-day conference of the Socialist International. (Photo: dpa)

IN THIS ISSUE

Bundeswehr on Nato exercise in Norway upsets Kremlin

Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Tsemskov arrived in Oslo on 20 December for talks held against a background of *progressive deterioration in ties* between Norway and the Soviet Union.

Relations between Oslo and Moscow really are at a low ebb; at the Helsinki festivities to mark the fiftieth anniversary of Finnish independence Soviet Premier Alexei Kosygin was in a bad mood *in his dealings with all the Scan*dinavian heads of government.

But he was particularly ill-humoured in his dealings with Norwegian Premier Alvar Nordli, so much so that Danish Premier Anker Jörgensen felt obliged to intervene on more than one occasion.

The Danish leader tried to pacify Mr Kosygin, arguing that the Soviet Premier was mistaken *in feeling that the balance* of power in Scandinavia was tilting in the West's favour.

This country is the main reason for this allegation, Norway having consented to a 1,500-strong contingent of Bundeswehr troops taking part in the Nato joint manoeuvres in Norway starting next year.

Moscow is furious. Despite the Moscow treaty and the Helsinki accords Soviet mistrust of Bonn remains so strong that Finland, for instance, is seriously afraid of foreign and defence policy repercussions.

The terms of the Finno-Soviet mutual assistance pact provide for *consultations* in the event of a threat from Germany [redacted] *countries associated* with it.

[redacted] situation was similar, the Finns [redacted] 1961 when Denmark and this [redacted]ned forces in a Baltic command. With the Finnish presidential *elections in full swing there was a* heated exchange of notes between Moscow and Helsinki as a crisis gained momentum.

The Soviet Union called on Finland to agree to military consultations in view of the situation.

It took a journey to Mr Khrushchev in Novosibirsk by President Kekkonen to reassure the Soviet leader and dissuade him from, say, despatching Soviet troops to Finland.

Finland is worried lest a comparable situation may have arisen, President Kekkonen claims. As coincidence would have it, he is again in the middle of a *presidential election campaign.*

Mr Kekkonen appealed to his Scandinavian neighbours always to bear in mind that they can only be on good terms with the Soviet Union as long as ties between Moscow and Helsinki are good.

In other words, if anyone *jeopardises* good-neighbourly relations between Finland and the Soviet Union his own ties with Moscow will stand to deteriorate as a result.

Bundeswehr troops are by no means alone in contributing towards the low ebb of ties between Norway and the Kremlin. The Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister's agenda included the Spitzbergen talks, talks on the continental shelf, fishing rights, the Arctic Ocean as a whole and Soviet manpower under arms on the Kola peninsula.

But German troops in Norway was the prospect about which the Russians are decidedly most sensitive.

"When you bear in mind," to quote *President Kekkonen, "that Russia has* been invaded from the West fourteen times in the past 150 years and that Minsk, the White Russian capital, has repeatedly been razed to the ground you are bound to appreciate why the Soviet Union is so mistrustful."

For survival's sake Finland has no option but to maintain a continual watsching brief to ensure that the Soviet Union is not threatened from ... list ranks, which would necessitate implem... of a ... of the mutual assistance pact.

German troops in Norway, espec... in manoeuvres only a stone's throw aw... from the Soviet border, constitute an *emergency of the first order as far as* Finland is concerned.

Norwegian officials note in Oslo that the Bundeswehr cannot simply be shown the door; the two countries are fellow-members of Nato.

But Bonn would be well advised, with *Ostpolitik in general and the forthcoming visit by Mr Brezhnev in particular in* mind, to prefer not to despatch Bundeswehr units to Norway.

Otherwise a fresh Scandinavian crisis seems more than likely.

Günter Graffenberger
(Der Tagesspiegel, 20 December 1977)



FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Nato 'Europeans' call for a say in the drafting of Salt III

Salt II, which will in all probability be concluded in the New Year, has already cast its shadow on Nato, whose European members are worried about the future of nuclear armament in Europe and the extent to which they can bring influence to bear on US strategic arms limitation policy towards the Soviet Union.

The Brussels summit of Nato Foreign and Defence Ministers spent much of its time discussing the repercussions of Salt II on security in Europe.

US Defence Secretary Harold Brown and Secretary of State Cyrus Vance reassured fellow-members of Nato that they would be consulted thoroughly, in good time and frankly prior to the conclusion of Salt III.

Both men claimed that useful consultations of this kind had already been undertaken — a claim which their European counterparts did not care to dispute.

Yet the figure US spokesmen, including Paul Warnke, chief US delegate at Geneva, cut at sessions of the North Atlantic Council has not always lived up to expectations.

It is only fair to add, however, that European members of Nato have made little use of the opportunity afforded by the pact's Nuclear Planning Group to state their views clearly and emphatically.

At Ottawa last spring and in Bari in October Britain, Norway and this country reiterated their interest in the Cruise missile.

At Ottawa the Nuclear Planning Group even went so far as to call on the US government to include medium- and long-range Cruise missiles in the forthcoming Salt agreement in such a way as to ensure that Europe retained access to them.

Europe unable to state its views clearly

But little was forthcoming that might have testified to a clearly defined European concept incorporating tangible political demands.

And if Europe was unable to state its views clearly they could hardly be expected to penetrate red tape in Washington and reach the President in the ... House.

Months of reciprocal vacillation in connection with President Carter's decision on the neutron bomb confused matters even further, although the neutron bomb has nothing directly to do with Salt II.

Meanwhile, however, the superpowers had resumed their Salt talks at Geneva with a view to coming to terms on the US Cruise missile and the Soviet Backfire bomber, thereby paving the way for a comprehensive Salt II agreement.

In November Paul Warnke was able to supply Nato headquarters in Brussels with a draft version of the US-Soviet compromise which seems to take European Nato interests into account even though it is saddled with the political

DIE ZEIT

mortgage of a three-year moratorium on the Cruise missile.

Unlike Salt I, which was concluded in 1972, Salt II, the terms of which are fairly cut and dried, is to incorporate joint guidelines and principles that are to govern subsequent negotiations leading up to a Salt III.

In Brussels Secretary of State Vance told the North Atlantic Council that these guidelines have yet to be negotiated and number among the items on the agenda on which the two sides in Geneva are still very much at odds.

If, as seems likely, these differences of opinion can be reconciled, Salt II will pave the way for Salt III before either Salt II has been ratified by Congress or Nato consultations on Salt III can really get under way.

A number of European Nato members consider this shortcoming to be both a major drawback and a potential risk.

European governments may not yet have undertaken a joint definition of their interests but the views they hold in common are fairly clear in outline. They consist, in the main, of four points:—

First, the modernisation of Nato's nuclear armaments must neither be abandoned nor crucially curtailed unilaterally unless the Soviet Union makes appropriate counter-concessions.

Second, strategic weapons systems of special relevance to Europe must only be included on the Salt agenda provided European Nato members so agree and are allowed to take part in the relevant negotiations, which must lead to the incorporation of these weapons systems in Salt III.

Third, there must be no intermediate nuclear disparity in the Soviet Union's favour below the overall level of strategic parity between the two superpowers. This is a reference to Soviet medium-range missiles which represent a continental security risk in a European context.

Fourth, US-Soviet accords must in no way impinge on either conventional or nuclear armament on the part of America's Nato partners. In particular, they must impose no restrictions on the transfer of technology with regard to conventional weapons systems.

The first point naturally applies not only to Salt but also to the Vienna MBFR talks on troop cuts in Central Europe.

Within the MBFR terms of reference a modernisation of the successor to the Phantom jet, a tactical nuclear bomber, or a modernisation of the Pershing missile system might suddenly turn out to have been forestalled by a US-Soviet accord unless the possibility has been precluded.

All four points basically deal with the same context, a 'grey zone' of nuclear missiles that may not boast sufficient range and power to qualify as strategic weapons of the classic, intercontinental variety.

At the same time they do not constitute tactical, operational warheads; they remain missiles of substantial political and strategic significance by virtue of their considerable range and firepower.

They consist, for the most part, of the following:-

— Soviet medium-range offensive weapons (both missiles and bombers). The latest missile in this category, the SS 20, has a range in excess of 2,500 miles (4,000 kilometres); it can be equipped with multiple warheads and launched on land from a mobile pad, such as a motor vehicle.

— Soviet medium-range TU 126 fighter jets, known in Nato parlance as the Backfire jet, which can fly roughly 6,000 kilometres (3,750 miles) without refuelling.

— Modern Soviet tactical jet fighters based in Central Europe and the western Soviet Union which are capable of flying tactical nuclear weapons to destinations in Western Europe.

— British and French medium-range missiles on land (France) and sea (British and French nuclear submarines).

— American nuclear sub missiles with multiple warheads intended for Nato deployment in Europe and maintained on standby in Western European waters.

— US aircraft based on board aircraft carriers in the Mediterranean.

— French Mirage 4 bombers and modern tactical jet fighters.

— Old British V bombers.

— American F 111 fighters based in Britain and soon to be joined by F 15 tactical fighters based in Western Europe.

— All future Cruise missiles of sufficient range based either in or around Europe.

By existing Salt terms of reference these weapons come under a variety of headings, some (such as missiles on board nuclear submarines) being deemed strategic weapons, others (such as the Soviet medium-range missile systems) not.

Bonn Defence Minister Georg Leber thus talked at the Brussels Nato summit in terms of a quadriga, or four interlinked but independent weapons sectors requiring consideration in respect of both strategy and security policy.

These four sectors are: the central nuclear strategic systems; continental missiles; tactical nuclear warheads; and conventional arms.

In all probability Salt III will deal with continental weapons of European strategic significance and with medium-range systems of similar importance.

It will do so because of their range, mobility and target flexibility. In many cases technological development has enabled these systems to reach ranges hitherto deemed the prerogative of strategic weapons. They need to be dealt with by Salt III, otherwise strategic arms limitation would be circumvented.

Salt II will not deal with these we... ons systems, except in respect of t... tegories covered by a supple... agreement for a three-year pe...

First, land- or sea-based Cruise mis... siles with a range of more than 600 ki... lometres (375 miles); this limitation wi... not apply to missiles on board heavy bombers.

Second, Backfire bombers, which a... to be limited in number and maybe i... range and operational base too.

Salt II certainly makes no provisi... for Soviet medium-range missiles; n... for that matter, does it apply to Ame... can nuclear devices stationed either i... Europe or the Mediterranean (the U... Sixth Fleet) and capable of being aim... at Soviet targets.

The problem as far as Europe... members of Nato are concerned i... twofold one. The Backfire limitation... problematic because the TU 126 has... continental range in a European conte... while the Cruise missile moratorium w... expire after a three-year period.

Once the time is up a decision w... have to be reached. Are land- and s... based Cruise missiles with an operati... nal range in excess of 600 kilometres... be legalised or not?

Salt II as outlined by the Unite... States will permit the development an... trial of Cruise missiles with a range ... up to 2,500 kilometres (1,560 miles).

This would appear to ensure that Eu... ropean interests are looked after in a mi... litary meaningful and politically a... propriate manner.

Counterweight to Soviet ballistic missiles

In Brussels this country's Georg Leb... attached great importance to a weapo... system with survival potential th... might be based in Europe as a count... weight to the Soviet medium-range b... listic missiles.

It remains to be seen whether t... United States would develop and intr... duce any such system, let alone place it ... the disposal of its Nato allies, if t... Soviet Union were to refuse to agree ... a Salt III limitation of its medium-ran... missiles or to forgo the introduction ... more up-to-date missiles in this ca... gory, such as the SS 20.

Assuming Salt II comes into force ... 1978, the three-year moratorium wo... head towards expiry in the middle of ... American presidential election ca... paign.

This alone makes it impossible ... forecast what decisions Washington ... reach. Relations between America ... Europe are similarly shrouded in unc... tainty.

Lothar Ruehl

(Die Zeit, 16 December 19...)

The German Tribune

Publisher: Friedrich Reinecke. Editor-in-Chief: Otto Heinz ... Editor: Alexander Anthony. — Distribution Manager: Georgine von Platen. Advertising Manager: ... Boeckmann.

Friedrich Reinecke Verlag GmbH. 23 Schoene Aussicht, Hamburg 76, Tel.: 22 85 1. Telex: 02 14733. Bonn bureau: 65 Adenauerallee, 53 Bonn, Tel.: 21 90 00. Telex: 08 86398.

Advertising rates list No. 12 — Annual subscription DM 35.

Printed by Krögers Buch- und Verlagsdruckerei, ... burg-Blankenese. Distributed in the USA by: ... MAILINGS, Inc. 540 West 24th Street, New York, N.Y. 10011.

All articles which THE GERMAN TRIBUNE reprint ... featuring articles selected from German periodicals.

... all correspondence please quote your subscription number which appears on the wrapper, between asterisks, above your address.

HOME AFFAIRS

Prospects of a Cabinet reshuffle in Bonn

When Helmut Schmidt was a Minister in Willy Brandt's Cabinet, he was occasionally heard to say that Cabinet reshuffles were not at all a bad thing.

He considered the middle of a government's period of office to be the ideal time for such a reshuffle. He was right then, and the views he expressed at the time still hold good.

However, if his present practice is anything to go by, the Chancellor appears to have changed his mind and no longer seems to believe in his former political theories. He has been very chary up to now of making changes in his Cabinet.

Herr Schmidt seems reluctant to dismiss old colleagues whom he trusts and has worked with for many years and replace them with fresh faces. Up to now his reshuffles have been reactions to events rather than his own initiative.

It is now clear that this cautious and loyal policy will have to be revised, if not abandoned altogether, if the Chancellor is going to get the right team together for his government's next two years in office.

New blood in the government would do no harm at all. Herr Schmidt should not allow events to dictate his changes to him. He should take the initiative himself and make a radical reshuffle.

Next spring Housing Minister Karl Ravens will leave the Cabinet and concentrate on the state elections in Lower Saxony, where he is the SPD's candidate for the post of state Prime Minister.

Georg Leber, who has twelve hard years as a Minister behind him, cannot go on for ever and in view of the recent scandal in the Ministry of Defence it is likely that he will go.

One or two other relatively minor changes also have to be made. But the Chancellor would be passing up a fine opportunity if he left it at that and did not make further changes.

Generally speaking, there are three possible reasons for a Cabinet reshuffle. One is to part with older, long-serving Cabinet members whose best years are behind them and the other is to replace Ministers who have been given their chance, have done their probationary period and have not lived up to expectations.

A good head of government should abandon the idea that a Cabinet colleague who has performed his duties conscientiously but without particular distinction has an automatic right to remain in the government. Rules such as this have no place in politics — or should not have.

The third main reason for a reshuffle is to give the government a "new look" half way through its term of office or at some other suitable time. A Chancellor is well advised if he can show the public that he still has a number of aces up his sleeve, that there are untapped reserves of ideas and dynamism in his team and there is no shortage of talented potential Ministers.

However, a reshuffle of any magnitude has to be more than a gesture or a stunt. The head of government must have a clear idea of what he wants to achieve, why he has chosen the new men and what policies are to be followed with a view to winning the next elections.

The head of a coalition government clearly does not have as much room for manoeuvre as the head of a one-party government. He has very little say in which members of the coalition party are brought into the Cabinet — regardless of what the constitution says on this subject.

This certainly makes the job of reshuffling a Cabinet more difficult, but not impossible by any means. The head of government is also limited by the material available — i.e. the ability and competence of potential members of the government.

These factors do not absolve the head of government of the duty to make a reshuffle. There is no point in complaining about a lack of suitable Cabinet members. The best policy is to start looking and not to shrink from experimentation and new permutations.

Herr Schmidt is undoubtedly going to have to reshuffle his Cabinet sooner or later. He can confine himself to making only the most necessary and pressing changes if he wishes. This is the easy way out, but not necessarily the most judicious.

Heinz Murmann

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 21 December 1977)

CDU/CSU still in disarray

The joint strategy commission of the CDU and CSU serves many purposes. One purpose it emphatically does not serve is to establish unity in the strategics pursued by the two sister parties.

It seems that neither CDU leader Helmut Kohl nor CSU leader Franz Josef Strauss is interested in joint strategy.

Herr Strauss is not interested in healing the divisions because in doing so he would lose the lever with which he can now prise Opposition leader Helmut Kohl out of office.

Herr Kohl does not want a unified strategy because he would have to pay a price for it which he cannot and does not wish to pay.

The result is that both leaders use the ineptly named commission to underline their differences rather than settle them. The CSU hope that these talks can be lethal — for Helmut Kohl.

The commissions meetings, the CSU's veiled and open threats to break with its larger partner and other pronouncements by the Bavarian state group all serve a higher purpose: the ritual murder of Helmut Kohl.

The CSU is not entirely blameless and has itself to thank for the unhappy turn events are taking. Last year, it allowed Franz Josef Strauss to dictate the strategy commission's terms of reference.

In Herr Strauss's opinion, there were two main points to be discussed: whether it was possible to persuade the FDP, which now forms the governing coalition with the SPD in Bonn, to change tack and form a coalition with the Christian Democratic parties, and whether the conditions for CDU/CSU victory could be created by changing the party-political scene altogether.

The CSU now believes that there is no possibility of the FDP deserting the SPD to form a coalition with the CDU/CSU. This is a point which Helmut Kohl must concede.

The CSU therefore insists on a debate on what the political scene is to be in 1980. If Herr Kohl is to be consistent (see his interview with *Deutsche Zeitung* on 3 June 1977) he can hardly refuse to engage in such a debate.

Whether such a debate would be politically useful is another question. It would perhaps be more sensible to agree on what precisely the Bonn Opposition's strategy is and to discuss ways of exploiting and highlighting the difficulties of the Bonn government.

The only way the CDU/CSU is going to come to power before the next elections is if they bring down the present government. This is what the Christian Democrats should be concentrating on at the moment, instead of trying to bring down Helmut Kohl. But this vital subject was not broached behind the closed doors of the Konrad Adenauer House in Bonn.

Instead, the CSU is staking its prestige and its future on an idea it has been contemplating and preparing for some time: a fourth political party. The strategy commission can go on meeting until the cows come home, but the CSU are not going to agree to anything until its larger partner goes along with the idea of a fourth party.

Helmut Kohl on the other hand cannot accept the idea of such a party because he knows that it does not have majority support in the CDU.

If, against Herr Kohl's will, a fourth party were formed, he would not need to be unduly worried about it. The result could only be that he would strengthen his position within the CDU, and this would be the surest of way of his being re-nominated candidate for the chancellorship in 1980.

In the event of electoral victory, Strauss would be faced with the same question, which he is now so assidously trying to avoid.

This is perhaps why Herr Kohl has been refusing to give way to the CSU. He realises that in the long run a break between the CDU and the CSU would do Strauss more harm than him, especially as there is little evidence that a fourth party would improve the CDU/CSU's chances of winning an election.

Indeed, demoscopic analyses have shown that the party would damage the Opposition's chances of winning the next general election.

Rumours have been going around Bonn recently that Kohl is secretly in favour of a fourth party because it would help him to gain re-nomination as candidate for the Chancellorship. These rumours are false.

But it could be that he is aware that Strauss's attempts to pressure him could rebound on their author's head and that this consideration plays a part in his tactics.

Given the present state of play, we can assume that the argument will go on until the next election campaign begins. The belief that a change of leader in the parliamentary CDU would prevent this is certainly illusory.

Ludolf Herrmann

(Deutsche Zeitung, 16 December 1977)

Ties with Moscow

Continued from page 1

many — as voiced, for instance, by Premier Kosygin in Finland.

In comparison the failure to solve Berlin problems and the protocol niceties they entail would appear virtually to have been dismissed.

The Soviet Union, it must be said, has been stonewalling for some time, advancing any excuse that came to hand for disregarding specific agreements.

This country must be excused for wondering whether Moscow has not, at some stage in the proceedings, abandoned serious attempts to reactivate ties. If so, we must naturally wonder why.

At present it certainly looks as though Moscow has dug in for a long, hard winter on the Rhine. Joint projects are being neglected to the point at which a deterioration in ties seem likely to result.

Prior to Nikita Khrushchev's 1958 Berlin note Chancellor Adenauer noticed a sudden freeze in relations. Chancellor Schmidt would now seem to be confronted by a similarly enigmatical phenomenon.

For psychological reasons it would appear extraordinarily difficult to lay a firm groundwork for ties with the Soviet Union — a groundwork stable enough to withstand minor pinpricks.

The Russians, suspicious as they are, seem determined to imagine at every opportunity that the Germans are on the point of pulling over a fast one on them.

Why is Mr Brezhnev continually postponing his visit to Bonn? The reason no doubt depends on what he expects to result from a visit to this country

A major item on the agenda — in addition, that is, to economic cooperation — is mutual balanced force reduction, the subject of the Vienna troop cut talks.

There was a time when Moscow appeared keenly interested in the MBFR talks, and the Kremlin knows that Chancellor Schmidt is also interested in troop cuts in Central Europe.

Were he and Mr Brezhnev to meet, the two sides would have to get down to brass tacks and disarmament, or such mention of it as was made, would hold pride of place in the final communiqué.

The Soviet Union is evidently reluctant to embark on bilateral talks about disarmament with the Federal Republic at this point in time.

This is doubtless due to the fact that detente has not proved as profitable for the Soviet Union as Moscow had hoped, although the Kremlin has not yet reached the stage at which it is prepared to dump detente.

Priority is nonetheless attached to consolidation within the socialist ranks, and Bonn, having played the role of a pacemaker for a while, is now at the receiving end of the backlash.

Helmut Schmidt is due to make his government policy statement to the Bundestag on 19 January, which should provide him with an opportunity of indicating whether he is willing and feels able to make a fresh attempt at resuscitating ties with Moscow.

This would entail abandoning consideration for views held by some members of the government, not to mention the Opposition. A number of prestige considerations which have also arisen or again come to the fore would likewise need to be jettisoned.

But is would not be good if a deep freeze were to descend on ties with the Soviet Union.

Klaus Dreher

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 22 December 1977)

■ DEFENCE

Ruling on conscientious objectors taken to Constitutional Court

Since 16 December conscientious objectors have again had to appear before a tribunal and convince the panel that their objections to military service are bona fide. Pending a ruling on the appeal the Kralsruhe Constitutional Court has suspended an amendment to the Military and Social Service Act on the basis of which, since 1 August, conscientious objectors had been excused military service on written application. The Christian Democratic Bonn Opposition and a number of states governed by a CDU/CSU administration have appealed to the Karlsruhe court, challenging the constitutionality of the pro forma procedure.

The Lutze spy affair is not the only major problem the Bonn Ministry of Defence is facing at the moment, The number of conscientious objectors to military service and the resultant drop in recruitment to the Bundeswehr are also causing grave concern.

Defence Ministry officials in Bonn seem to have underestimated the number of conscripts who would take advantage of a new provision allowing them to choose between military and social service.

The Ministry and the government coalition were perfectly aware that there would be a difficult transition phase at first, but they had certainly not been reckoning with such a large and sudden increase.

The number of conscientious objectors in November alone was more than ten thousand. The general reaction at the Ministry is one of perplexity and uncertainty.

On the surface at least the reason for this spectacular increase is not hard to find. Many conscripts were waiting until the law was passed on August 1 before opting for social instead of military service, knowing that from then on they would not have to justify the their decision before a panel of judges. It is estimated that there were about 30,000 young men in this category.

The abolition of the conscience test also means that, with few exceptions, applications for dispensation from military service are no longer turned down.

The Opposition's appeal to the Federal Constitutional Court also led to a rise in applications. Many conscripts put in their application for social instead of military service as quickly as possible because they did not want to take the risk of waiting till March, when there was a possibility that the Karlsruhe court would declare the amendment to the Military Service and Social Service Act null and void.

The number of these pre-emptive applications probably increased even more as it became clear that the Karlsruhe judges are not only concerned about the constitutional aspects of the amendment but also determined to ensure that the Bundeswehr remains effective.

In view of this concern, it was clear that the number of conscientious objections to be expected in the coming months was also a factor in their decision.

There is not doubt that the conscientious objection curve will rise in January, February and March of next year, because these are the months in which school-leavers with university entrance qualifications will have to decide whether they are going to do military or social service. The proportion of conscientious objectors has always been highest in this category.

The chances of articulate senior school pupils persuading the judges of the sincerity of their pacifism were always excellent. The new amendment made it possible for their less privileged contemporaries who had previously had a tough time at the best tribunals to opt for social service.

It is a situation which threatens to become a vicious circle, with the Constitutional Court judges concentrating on the increase in objectors and their ruling causing this increase.

The most important practical argument that government representatives can put to the Constitutional Court is that the number of potential recruits in the next few years will be high because of high birth rates in the nineteen-fifties.

Then there is the reserve of those who were eligible for military service in the past few years but were not called up.

This means that there is little likelihood of any vast gap in recruitment. It was these two factors which decided the government to abolish the old test procedures, which even the CDU/CSU Opposition were far from happy with.

Next year there will be a potential of 452,000 recruits, of which the Bundeswehr only needs 220,000. The number of potential recruits will remain at about half a million until about the mid-eighties, when the drop in population as a result of widespread resort to the contraceptive pill will start making itself felt.

A good three quarters of potential recruits are, in varying degrees, fit for military service. If we disregard the number of dispensations for family or professional reasons, police, civil defence and those doing voluntary service overseas, there is still a considerable reserve of potential recruits.

Even if the number of conscientious objectors were to increase dramatically, this reserve would not dwindle in the short term. Until the mid-sixties, this reserve was, on average, 3,000 a year. In 1968, the year of student revolt and the extra-parliamentary opposition, it rose to twelve thousand.

Since then it has increased steadily to nearly 41,000 last year and 33,535 up to November 1977 (though one should not forget that the birth rate for these recruitment years was high).

However, the critical limit is in sight. In April 1978, the Bundeswehr will, for the first time, be recruiting married men and grade three conscripts (i.e. those whe are not fit in every respect for military services).

Experts disagree whether the modern army with its advanced technology really needs the all-round soldier and whether it really matters if a wireless operator cannot do a thirty-mile route march with a full pack. Nonetheless, it looks as if the question of the relation between quantity and quality in the Bundeswehr is going to be a far from academic question in the near future.

The real problem is the social service. Hans Iven, federal commissioner for social service, reckons he can provide jobs for about a tenth of any one recruitment year. For 1978, this would mean about 45,000 which seems to be the upper limit for the time being. The problem is aggravated by the fact that there is already a backlog from previous years.

The theoretical need for social service conscripts is far greater than this. Without them many parts of our social care and welfare system would be near to collapse. These social service conscripts put in long hours and do extremely valuable work.

The number of jobs available for these conscripts is dwindling because a large number of social institutions artificially increase their demand so that they can get such conscripts or else they offer jobs but demand very high qualifications from applicants.

Iven quoted an extreme example of this to the Karlsruhe judges, recounting the case of a cook who was expected to know six languages and be a member of a particular church before he could get a job.

If large numbers of those who have opted for social instead of military service are not called up because there are not enough jobs for them, the question of fairness becomes even more acute.

When the amendment to the Act was introduced, there was disagreement between government and Opposition as to whether it needed the approval of the Bundesrat before becoming law.

For some time there was uncertainty as to whether the President would ever sign it. Now there is uncertainty about the Constitutional Court's final ruling. It is hardly surprising in view of this uncertainty that no measures have been taken to increase the number of jobs available for social service conscripts.

There is talk in some quarters at the moment of deterring potential conscientious objectors by making social service into an "unpleasant alternative" by making conscripts live in barracks for example, and of extending the area covered by the social services.

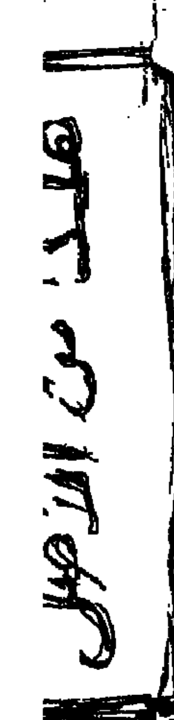
There are also suggestions that we ought to revert to the old conscience test procedures in modified form if there were a recruitment deficit.

These speculations and proposals indicate that those responsible were not reckoning with the flood of applications for social service which has been coming in over the post menths.

The government will need to keep its nerve. Whether this country's young men abuse the right to choose between military and social service by acting opportunistically or not depends on the sense of responsibility.

The Social and Free Democratic coalition's experiment is a challenge and test of their moderation, their attitude to the State and their readiness to serve the community. It is an experiment which could tell us a lot about the way young

Continued on page 6



Better discipline in Bundeswehr claim

The 18,000 or so soldiers of the twelfth tank division in Würzburg have grown about fifteen seconds a man faster this year — over 500 metres at least.

Division commander Major-General Gert Bastian gave orders for the sporting achievements of his troops in athletics, running, long jump and putting the shot to be recorded at the end of this year.

The results were then extrapolated on to the common denominator of the 5,000 metre race. Hence the improvement in times over this distance.

Looking back over the year, the general points out that the "disciplinary low point" his men were at is now a thing of the past. Ten thousand men were called up for military service in 1977 and of these only sixteen failed to obey the induction order.

The general added that most of these recruits doing compulsory national service were loyal and reasonably well-disciplined. They performed their duties without undue fuss.

The division's youth officers, most of whom work in schools, claim to have noticed that young people today are more aware of the need for military security than the previous generation.

They regard the Bundeswehr as a necessity, well able to carry out its military functions, the second strongest force in the Western alliance after that of the United States.

Despite this realisation, they add, a large number of pupils are unwilling to do military service themselves. This is why it would be important to stress in future that work in the social services, which until the recent Constitutional Court ruling could be chosen instead of military service, was no easy option. Only a strong Bundeswehr could guarantee the right to conscientious objection.

The following trends were noted in the division, which is based in Bavaria, Baden-Württemberg and the Rhineland Palatinate: school-leavers with university entrance qualifications seemed to be less interested in a career as officers of the reserve.

Interest in careers as non-commissioned officers is considerable, and the number of applications for careers as army officers far exceeds the number of commissions available.

General Bastian stresses that in a modern army with its modern weapons systems intelligent conscripts are as vital as well qualified officers and NCOs.

The problem was that the number of applications from conscientious objectors wanting to do social service had risen so dramatically that the local defence officers were being forced to call up conscripts in fitness category three.

These conscripts had not been classified as fully fit and previous practice had been to dispense them from military service.

The general then announced the results of a poll on the value of political instruction given to recruits.

Seventeen per cent of those taking part in these courses described them as "pathetic and useless," eighty per cent said that they were not particularly effective.

Forty-five per cent of those asked said that the principle of the "citizen in uniform" was a good idea in theory but had failed in practice.

Franz Barth

(Münchner Merkur, 20 December 1977)

■ BONN

Armin Halle, ghostwriter to Helmut Schmidt

Ludwig Erhard, the father of the German *Wirtschaftswunder* (the economic miracle of the fifties), had his Rüdiger Altmann and Willy Brandt had his Klaus Harpprecht. Both ghostwriters were well-known authors who went on to write speeches for the two Chancellors.

Chancellor Helmut Schmidt, whose rhetorical prowess had earned him the nickname 'Schmidt the Lip' even before he came to Bonn, has also surrounded himself with ghostwriters.

But there is one difference inasmuch as his ghostwriters are not as prominent as were Altmann and Harpprecht. Schmidt's speechwriters are high-ranking civil servants and are likely to remain exactly that.

One of Helmut Schmidt's new acquisitions in this sector is Armin Halle, 41, who is shortly to head a four-man team of speech and article writers. It was by no means coincidental that Armin Halle's career wound up in the Chancellery.

The former Defence Minister Schmidt employed Halle, a journalist at that time, in 1970, first as the Defence Minister's deputy spokesman and later as that Ministry's press officer.

Having thus worked with Helmut Schmidt for many years, Halle is thoroughly familiar with his employer. This is a major prerequisite for a ghostwriter who must know his master's diction and turn of phrase.

The manner in which Chancellor Schmidt treats the drafts for his speeches can be illustrated by the closing sentences of his government policy statement of 16 December 1976.

Having thoroughly studied the draft, Helmut Schmidt augmented the last two sentences which read: "Distorted pictures of reality obfuscate the perception. And fear would be a poor counsellor ..." by the words: "Instead we should put hope in its place."

And the appeal for "compassion" was augmented by "and tolerance." Says Halle about his boss: "Schmidt could just as well have become a *Time* editor."

Long before Schmidt came to Bonn, the former state secretary in the Chancellery and current Bundestag speaker Professor Karl Carstens realised the importance of ghostwriters, saying that any head of government would be entirely at sea without a word merchant.

As a rule, ghostwriters are never in the limelight of public attention. They unfold their considerable talents behind the scenes. Brandt's speechwriter Klaus Harpprecht was rather atypical, as was Ludwig Erhard's Rüdiger Altmann.

They were both much too well known as authors to see their job solely in adapting entirely to the style and way of thinking of their employers.

As a result everybody realised that the touches of colour in Willy Brandt's first government policy statement did not stem from the Chancellor but that they clearly bore the traits of Harpprecht.

A ghostwriter's day-to-day work is made up of tedious minutiae. He has to read a great deal, hoping to find some inspiration.

The former Minister of Economic Affairs Professor Karl Schiller was renowned for his perfect mastery in the use of ghostwriters. Among his speechwriters it was considered unfitting to draw any attention whatsoever to the "prompter."

The same goes for Helmut Schmidt. His future ghostwriter Armin Halle considers his boss such a powerful orator and so imaginative that it would seem almost impossible to feed him fully prepared scripts.

Says Halle: "It is virtually impossible to adopt Schmidt's style since the Chancellor is in a constant process of development and has only recently once more acquired new traits as an orator.

Herr Halle points out that latterly, for instance, philosophical ideas are once more in the foreground with Schmidt and that the "manager" has developed a keen interest in the discussion on basic values.

Chancellor Schmidt, who is at home in many fields of politics and familiar with political philosophy, is no doubt a challenge for his team of writers, and only if they are very lucky can they sneak a bit of their own original thought into his speeches.

But notwithstanding Chancellor Schmidt's own originality and his rhetorical power, he depends as much on his staff of ghostwriters as did his predecessors.

The demands of the office are such that the Chancellor hardly finds the time to draft his speeches in detail. And yet, when time is particularly at a premium, 'Schmidt the Lip' must himself resort to — if not pen and paper — his dictaphone.

Shortly before the end of his Moscow visit in 1976 the Chancellor had but a very short time in his hotel room in Kiev in which to prepare his much-lauded speech to the Protestant Church of Germany — and he had to do so without the help of a ghostwriter.

Armin Halle
(Photo: Sven Simon)

Helmut Schmidt has to make some seventy or eighty speeches a year and give numerous interviews and pen newspaper articles and possibly books or brochures.

In view of this arduous task, he must at least have a draft before putting pen to paper in order to stress or accentuate an aspect or to insert a particular formulation.

Schmidt's new ghostwriter intends to remain entirely in the background and provide him with mere key words since he knows from his earlier association with Helmut Schmidt how pronounced is the latter's own word power and ability to fomulate.

Armin Halle will therefore provide only a skeleton, leaving it to the Chancellor to add the flesh.

Karl-Hugo Pruys

(Münchner Merkur, 15 December 1977)

Politicians vie for file footage in press clippings archives

Our electoral system does little justice to politicians' need to know the degree of their popularity. Even polls provide no more than inadequate snapshots.

But there is such a thing as an instrument by which to gauge the popularity of famous contemporaries in all walks of life. So far as our politicians are concerned, this instrument is to be found in the basement of the Bundestag building where popularity is literally measured by a yardstick. We are speaking of the clipping service of the Bundestag.

At present, Willy Brandt and Franz Josef Strauss vie for first place. Until not too long ago Herr Brandt came closest to matching the late Konrad Adenauer on the clippings front, but latterly Bavaria's Franz Josef Strauss has been catching up rapidly (even without the much-vaunted Chancellorship bonus).

His clipping files by now measure 5.50 metres, which is only ten centimetres less than those of Willy Brandt.

But both Brandt and Strauss put together are still short of reaching Konrad Adenauer's length by a distance of the combined files of Opposition leader Helmut Kohl and Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher.

Only when a politician has more than ten newspaper items to his credit can he be considered to be "in" and receive a separate file with his own name on it.

Until then he leads a somewhat less brilliant existence in a collective file of the archives, together with other contemporaries who have the first letter of their names in common.

The archives comprise 37,000 German and foreign personalities, and by no means all Bonn MPs succeed in getting a file of their own during their political careers.

Helmut Schmidt's files measure 2.7 metres at present. This is more than three times the length achieved by the former Minister of Economic Affairs Hans Friderichs.

His successor, Otto Graf Lambsdorff, shows signs of being about to overtake Friderichs since, even before taking office, he had achieved the respectable length of 0.5 metres.

But even among the lesser runners in this game there is a thrilling contest in progress. Thus, for instance, the Hesse state politicians and competitors in the next state election, Alfred Dregger and Holger Börner, have been running neck and neck for a number of months.

The file clipping is, however, only a part of the work done by the press documentation department of the Bundestag.

Its archives comprise some five million clippings with 1,000 being added every day. Headed by Dr Walther Keim, a team of 28 people gathers clippings from 110 domestic and foreign dailies and weeklies and 509 press services.

These range from Moscow's *Pravda* via Bavaria's *Bayernkurier* and the SPD *Vorwärts* all the way to *Peking Review*.

Among these are such rarities as the 1807 volume of the *Morgenblatt für die gebildeten Stände* (the morning paper for the educated classes) and the complete issues of *Berliner Illustrierte* (Berlin illustrated magazine) starting from the year 1900. For the past few years small and medium-sized regional newspapers have been microfilmed.

This popularity contest by means of scissors and glue (six hundredweight per annum) might seem a bit old-fashioned at first glance. But the system has its advantages due to its low cost and high degree of timeliness.

And since speed is of the essence whenever parliament requests information, the job is anything but a pushover for old-style archivists; on the contrary, it requires imagination and teamwork.

The clippings are arranged according to subject matter and can usually be made available within minutes of being requested.

The system is under constant scrutiny as to its adequacy for present-day demands in a fast-changing world. It is therefore perfectly natural for it to become increasingly more specialised, and more and more subjects have had to be broken down into various sub-headings.

Thus, for instance, everything written in China on the subject of environment protection must be made as readily available as clippings on the same subject in Schleswig-Holstein.

At a time when the appointment calendars of politicians are full to overflowing and time is at a premium, selective reading is a must if the daily press is to be perused at all.

The press documentation department therefore provides our "opinion leaders" and the presidium of the Bundestag every afternoon with folders containing clippings from the 25 most important dailies, arranged under ten different headings.

Moreover, every MP can ask to have the clipping service provide him with folders on specific subjects. As a result, there are days when up to 100,000 individual copies have to prepared.

Although the prime function of the department is to satisfy parliament's need for information, it frequently also helps out students and scholars.

Among those who particularly appreciate this service are also the various newspaper correspondents in Bonn, especially when their own clipping services are incomplete or when they want to familiarise themselves with a new subject or trace the career of a politician.

But this also means that mistakes are perpetuated from article to article until they are considered historical fact.

Thus for instance, the Walter Scheel file contains three reports on the same diplomats' hunt, bearing the following headlines: "Scheel Shoots a Rabbit"... "Scheel Shoots Two Rabbits"... "Scheel Shoots Three Rabbits."

Says the head of the press documentation department: "It is obvious that someone was shooting a line, but it was certainly not Scheel."

Gerd Rauhaus

(Das Paralament, 17 December 1977)

■ DEVELOPMENT

Brandt commission aims to break deadlock

The much vaunted North-South dialogue has so far brought us little more than empty verbiage, while the New International Economic Order has developed into a slogan used in national and international tugs-of-war.

The most that can be said of the attempted dialogue between industrialised and developing nations, North and South, is that it has not aggravated polarisation still further.

This applies to both Unctad IV in Nairobi in 1976 and to the North-South conference in Paris last spring. And the recent raw materials conference in Geneva ended in deadlock when the Group of 77, which speaks on behalf of the Third World, walked out demonstratively.

Viewed in this light, the Independent Commission for International Development Problems under the chairmanship of Willy Brandt, which recently conferred in Bonn, is of particular importance.

Especially in view of the fact that the North-South dialogue has hitherto only served to harden the fronts, a miniature team which works quietly and virtually without red tape has at least a chance — if only on the psychological plane.

The representatives of the industrialised nations and the Third World who make up Brandt's Commission at least do not have to worry about having their willingness to arrive at an understanding interpreted as a lack of solidarity or a breach of political ideology at home.

In fact, the term 'development aid' remained unmentioned at the recent session in Bonn of Willy Brandt's Commission.

There was general consensus that what mattered was not how the rich countries are to help the poor but what those concerned can do for themselves and for each other. The key word in this context is worldwide cooperation.

And this is more than a semantic trick. After all, the barrier of mistrust between the parties to the dialogue is so high and insurmountable primarily because it has hitherto been the rich ones alone who have profited from international trade and because the poor are laying political claim to a change of conditions in their favour.

In this country too development aid is frequently viewed as a sacrifice and an act of charity. What matters in reality, however, is to change the basis of international trade relations.

Granted, President Julius Nyerere of Tanzania once said that this is "virtually impossible" and that the various UN conferences on trade and development have "destroyed all illusions to that effect," but Amir Habib Jamal, an ex-Cabinet Minister from Tanzania, is nevertheless one of the members of the Brandt Commission.

The premises for any North-South dialogue which is matter-of-factly to distil "common interests" have changed. The industrialised nations are too late in recognising the vital conflicts and disastrous errors of industrial production, as President Walter Scheel pointed out.

But we are gradually arriving at the realisation of the drawbacks of the conventional idea of growth and industrialisation which was made palatable to the Third World by depicting it as progress and then exporting it as a model.

There are limits to the dialogue because, although the gap between North and South must be viewed as a global challenge, the communist countries — and above all the Soviet Union — are evading the issue.

Speaking before the Soviet Academy of Science in Moscow, Egon Bahr pretty bluntly accused the Soviet Union of shirking the issue. He pointed out that autarchic ideas and isolationism had been rendered obsolete by history.

North and South — poles apart

Income (1975 GNP)

North earns $4,760 million

South earns $1,230 million

Population

1,075 million people live in the northern hemisphere

North America, Europe, Soviet Union and Japan

Latin America, Africa, Oceania and Asia (excl. Japan)

2,890 million people live in the southern hemisphere

After the March 1977 London economic summit Chancellor Helmut Schmidt called on the Comecon States not to evade the issue of stepped up aid and the transfer of resources since they, too, increasingly benefit from the international division of labour.

The Group of 77 has long been trying to shake the communist countries out of their lethargy, and the world has entered a new era.

The 1969 Pearson Report dealt with the role of these countries where development aid is concerned in a terse two sentences. But according to Herr Brandt they will join the congress table in ten years' time. This will however hardly make it any easier to win the essential race against time in North-South detente.

Hypothetically, there can be little doubt that all future courses in development policy have already been delved into.

And it is unlikely that any open North-South dialogue worth the name — and the Brandt Commission stands a good chance of being worthy of it — will come up with new recipes or major solutions in terms of trade policy, raw materials prices, Third World indebtedness, transfer of technology and arms trade. But the existing ideas, concepts and wishes can receive new accents and be regrouped.

Rather more searching than self-confident, Helmut Schmidt bemoaned in speaking to the Commission that the classical Keynesian recipes were no longer effective where the world economy is concerned. He said that we need a new "international textbook," and this could lend substance to the dialogue.

Gunter Hofmann

(Die Zeit, 16 December 1977)

Development cooperation

Speaking at the first session of his International North-South commission, Willy Brandt was able to report that agreement had been reached on at least one point. The term 'development aid' is to be deleted from the political vocabularly.

It has, he pointed out, become obsolete since the New International Economic Order called for cooperation and common effort in the mutual interest of rich and poor.

Minister for Economic Cooperation and Development Marie Schlei would also like to get away from this term — especially in view of the fact that the increasing dependence of the Third World has proved particularly profitable for the export-dependent Germans.

At least sixty per cent of the money we invest in 'development aid' flows back to German companies in the form of orders, and every seventh job in our export industry depends on orders from the Third World.

Let us take a look at a few important figures: Government credits of all donor countries (in 1976 about $50,000 million) account for only ten per cent of investments in the developing nations. This means that development aid, though important, represents only a limited contribution towards the Third World's own efforts.

The budget for "development cooperation" as Bonn likes to call it nowadays has been increased for 1978, having dropped below the average for the Western industrialised nations. Next year's budget will amount to DM3,980 million (1977: DM3,210 million). But this is by no means mere altruism.

The funds which the Bundestag approved over and above the DM3,800 million asked for by the government will benefit the economy and the employment situation in the Federal Republic of Germany.

Thus, for instance, Bonn promotes in particular measures which will aid industries that are especially badly hit (such as shipbuilding), helping them to secure export orders and thus safeguard jobs.

Development strategists on the Bundestag's Finance Committee were guided by domestic economic considerations when they increased the so-called "instant aid" by DM400 million.

They thus offer the developing nations more swift shipments of German goods than would have been possible with the classical and much more time-consuming instruments of "financial cooperation" (formerly capital aid).

The latter required a period of between two to seven years from the approval of a project to its financing.

The Finance Committee has reserved a particular "open budgetary item" for the EEC membership applicants Portugal, Spain and Greece. This South-East Europe programme for the countries on the bottom rung of European development, which was originally demanded by the SPD, is to be "sold" as a "solidarity project" on Bonn's part.

Yet it entails considerable advantages for this country. All payments, such as for infrastructure projects or the reintegration of foreign workers who return to their native countries, will thus show up in the Federal Republic of Germany's development aid balance sheet rather than in some new and unloved EEC Regional Fund, the main burden of which has to be borne by Bonn once more.

Marie Schlei can thus expect development aid for 1978 to rise to 0.37 per cent of GNP, as opposed to 0.31 in 1977.

Frau Schlei would like to see legal provision for payments to the Third World increase in the future, reaching the 0.7 per cent of GNP target fixed by the UN.

And there can be no doubt that she will need a great deal of money as long as the poorest nations are unable to satisfy even the most elementary needs of the people.

Notwithstanding all changes in terminology, aid will still be needed, regardless whether it comes from the State or the Churches.

In the course of 1978 Marie Schlei would like to demonstrate her "basic needs strategy" by means of ten major infrastructure projects in ten different countries. One of the recipients will be Somalia, a country to which Germany has been indebted since the freeing of a hijacked Lufthansa jet in Mogadishu.

Richard Kiessler

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, 18 December 1977)

Conscientious objectors

Continued from page 4

people think and their real attitude to this state and its constitution.

It is an experiment, and, like any experiment, it deserves to be given a fair chance. There was a similar experiment in Denmark, and it took about a year for the figures to stabilise.

The CDU/CSU Opposition in Bonn was not prepared to give the amendment a fair chance. It was worried that the Act might undermine or even de facto abolish the principle of compulsory military service, lead to all kinds of abuses, corrupt conscripts' morale and seriously affect national defence.

The Federal Constitutional Court will publish its ruling on 1 March. We will then know whether or not this experiment and the test it involves for all concerned is to be abandoned in its infancy.

Carl-Christian Kaiser

(Die Zeit, 16 December 1977)

■ THE ECONOMY

Wage cost comparisons can be misleading

Employers have for some time been showing to all and sundry calculations whereby wages in the Federal Republic of Germany have reached a record level on an international scale.

These tables show that, among others, the wage level in France is about one-third lower than that in Germany and that British industrial workers earn half as much as their German counterparts, thus being only half as much of a burden on industry.

According to the employers, this is the consequence of an unbridled wage policy on the part of the trade unions during the past few years. As a result of this policy, German industry's opportunities on foreign markets have been severely curtailed and the economy driven into the doldrums.

The employers maintain that wage increases of three per cent — or even better still a complete moratorium on wage increases for an extended period of time — would be the only way of getting the economy off the ground again because this would induce business to step up investments.

The whole thing seemingly makes sense and, if such arguments were to be believed, there would be an easy way out of our present dilemma.

But as frequently happens with patent solutions of this nature, these ideas are only half-truths. In fact, the very comparison of international wages is lopsided.

This is borne out by the Council of Economic Advisers, or Five Wise Men, who in their latest report express their conviction that the economy can only be boosted through production and the promotion of investments, and not through consumer demand. Since this attitude suits business it accepts it without question.

By comparing the development of wages in the major industrialised nations the Five Wise Men arrive at the conclusion that the index of gross hourly wages in German industry had risen from 100 in 1970 to 177 by mid-1977.

Italy, which tops the list, shows an increase to 356, Britain to 273 and France to 245. Only Switzerland and the United States range slightly below the Federal Republic of Germany. But even in Japan wages rose to 230.

According to a comparison made by international experts, the position of German business improved still further due to the fact that productivity in this country rose at a steeper rate than in any other industrialised nation.

But the world of labour costs in production is in no way as intact as such figures would make us believe. The index figures have been worked out on the basis of individual national currencies and do not take into account changes in exchange rates.

In other words, the increased value of the deutschmark vis-à-vis other currencies is not reflected in such statistics.

But even so, they clearly prove that wage increases in this country were much more moderate than in virtually all other industrialised nations. And this is probably one of the major reasons for the relatively high degree of price stability compared with other countries, which in turn has a favourable effect on exports.

The fact that export business has become increasingly more difficult notwithstanding wage restraint (even if the high cost of fringe benefits in the Federal Republic of Germany somewhat detracts from this picture) is solely attributable to the steadily rising value of the deutschmark.

No other currency — except the Swiss franc — has risen as much as the deutschmark in the past few years.

As a result German goods have in many instances become too expensive for foreign buyers. And although the situation in many industries is by far not as bleak as generally assumed — this is borne out by continuing foreign trade surpluses — there can be no doubt that it has become considerably more difficult to do business on foreign markets.

But this is not attributable to wage increases. Instead, it is primarily due to changing foreign exchange rates which have not only hiked wage costs but all other production costs as well in comparison with other countries.

And should wage increases really be at the root of our export problems then certainly not in the manner argued by business.

Somewhat exaggerated, it could be said that it was the very restraint in wage increases compared with those in the nations who buy our products which engendered more price stability in this country and thus a higher deutschmark exchange rate.

It is hard to blame everything on wages policy.

Hansjürgen Wehrmann

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 17 December 1977)

Gross hourly wages in industry

	first 1970	half 1977
Fed. Rep. of Germany	100	177
Belgium	100	256
France	100	245
Britain	100	273
Italy	100	356
Holland	100	216
USA	100	164
Canada	100	208
Japan	100	230
Sweden	100	210
Switzerland	100	161

Munich pundits revise forecasts

The Ifo Institute for Economic Research, Munich, has amended downward its own three-per-cent growth rate forecast for 1977. It now expects only 2.5 per cent according to its chief prognosticator Dr A. Krumper.

The Ifo Institute now anticipates that the growth rate will not accelerate until 1979/80, as stated by the Institute's President Dr Karl Heinrich Oppenländer.

Dr Oppenländer stresses, however, that economic forecasts have become more difficult due to the dollar problem, but he still assumes that world trade will grow by between four and five per cent rather than the originally anticipated five to six per cent.

Even with a cautious assessment of the effects the tax package will have on our economy, Ifo expects a three to 3.5 per cent growth rate next year. The unemployment rate will increase slightly to 4.8 per cent (4.7) and the average annual unemployment is likely to be 1.05 (1.03) million.

The utilisation of production capacities is still considerably below normal level, and as a result investment impulses for expansion purposes are very weak.

In assessing the dramatic drop in dollar parity Ifo opted for a relatively optimistic evaluation, assuming that the dollar will not drop any further. Dr Krumper named the following reasons:

- Heavy US oil stockpiling in 1977, which could induce oil imports to rise somewhat more slowly;
- In addition Alaskan oil should provide some relief;
- The hope that President Carter's energy programme will gradually take effect;
- The conspicuous economic gap between the United States and the rest of the world in 1977 is likely to narrow somewhat next year.

Dr Krumper doubts, however, whether the latest reduction in Bank rate will have any noticeable effect on the exchange rate. But the Bank rate reduction is nevertheless in keeping with present economic conditions. Dr Krumper admitted that it would be quite feasible to view the dollar problem in a more negative light.

Notwithstanding the drop in the dollar exchange rate, Ifo expects export volume to increase by five per cent (in real terms) next year. It is deemed advisable that the Federal government evolve a long-range strategy of tax relief.

Price increases in 1978 are likely to range between 3.5 and four per cent, — but they are likely to be in the upper range of this margin.

(Handelsblatt, 20 December 1977)

Bundesbank sounds parity trend warning

In its December report the Bundesbank points out that the Federal Republic of Germany's competitiveness on international markets has been weakened.

The latest increase in the deutschmark exchange rate — parallel with the weakening of the dollar — has noticeably exceeded cost and price ratios compared with other countries.

The report goes on the state that a continued and healthy economic growth in the Federal Republic of Germany is only thinkable if world trade grows considerably next year and if the German economy succeeds in retaining its present share.

This weakened competitiveness gave rise to other foreign trade factors which cannot be corrected by monetary measures.

As a result, the Bundesbank stresses, our domestic business will have to adapt to the new data on a wide front.

Essentially, it will be necessary to safeguard profits by not imposing further burdens. Reduced profits in foreign trade must be offset by keeping production costs at bay — not only on the wage front but also through joint and coordinated efforts on the part of all who have a hand in economic policy.

With regard to the general economic situation the Bundesbank report states that the picture has improved somewhat since the beginning of April in a number of sectors. There was some buoyancy in evidence during the past few months. But this improvement emanated from the domestic front.

Rising deutschmark parity is expected to have a dampening effect on exports. But at home there is a considerable consumption willingness in evidence.

Moreover, private construction orders in the housing sector have risen considerably, and the order books of construction companies were swelled by some thirty per cent in the third quarter. This increased demand was boosted by financial shots in the arm by the government.

Government spending (including expenditures for investment) is accelerating and clearly heading for the course envisaged for 1978. There also seems to have been more inclination to invest on the part of business since the beginning of the autumn.

Better depreciation facilities in tax legislation which came into force in September, and the prospect of additional tax relief in 1978, seem to be helping investors to overcome their reticence.

There is also much to indicate that business is adopting a more positive attitude towards long-term investment.

According to the Bundesbank, business plans to increase investments for 1978 by seven per cent (in the case of the construction industry this figure is as high as ten per cent).

The fact that, notwithstanding livelier demand at home, the economic recovery is still dragging its feet is largely due to the fact that there were virtually no additional impulses emanating from abroad.

On the one hand, our export opportunities were curtailed by the economic slump in the most important of neighbouring countries and, on the other, foreign competitors succeeded in capturing an additional market share here.

This applies particularly in the sector of finished products.

As for the fact that the money supply target for 1977 was exceeded, the Bundesbank states that, compared with the level of economic activity, the present money supply must be considered ample.

Loans to domestic non-banking business have risen at an annual rate of ten per cent in the past few months.

These additional credits went primarily into those sectors where a new buoyancy gained the upper hand latterly, as for instance into housing construction and the service industry.

A considerable increase in government deficit must be anticipated for 1978. The social security system is likely to show a deficit of about DM 60,000 million compared with DM 42,000 million this year.

As necessary as this might be at present, the Bundesbank report states, we shall nevertheless have to revert to a concept of curtailing State deficits in the years to come.

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 15 December 1977)

■ ENERGY

Bonn's fuel and power package aims at cutting back consumption

Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger

There can be no mistaking the challenge of the eighties where energy is concerned. Our customary way of living and budgeting resources is on the brink of a deep-seated crisis.

We may still be basking in the apparent peace and quiet of a sunny summer's day. Energy is available in abundance and no one is having to limit consumption.

But the harbinger of an imminent storm is here for all to see. Petroleum, the lifeblood of modern civilisation, already looks like growing scarce.

The Opec countries may have discussed prices at Caracas but price is no longer the crucial factor; output is the problem.

Producers are refusing to step up the output of modern civilisation's most important commodity and thereby exhaust prematurely their sole export commodity.

For some time annual petroleum consumption has exceeded newly proven oil reserves.

This, then, is the background against which the Bonn government has drawn up its new energy programme, which is modestly described as a continuation of its predecessors.

In other words, the latest programme represents neither a volte-face nor an answer to the full-scale challenge that lies ahead; it is no more than a cautious adjustment to requirements.

This is not intended as cheapskate criticism, yet the fact remains that the new energy programme holds forth neither the promise of what might be deemed desirable nor yet the bare necessities — and till it aims at more than would appear feasible in the circumstances.

For once — indeed, for the first time ever — the Bonn government envisages saving energy: and by practical means rather than by verbal exhortations.

Over the next few years houseowners stand to qualify for grants totalling 4,350 million deutschmarks if they improve insulation or install solar heating and heat exchangers in place of oil-fired central heating.

At the same time the government proposes to abolish concessionary rates which encourage consumers to step up their consumption of electric power.

Last but not least, the duty on heating oil is to be doubled.

Yet the effect of these measures is not expected to be spectacular. Energy-saving grants may, it is felt, tend to bring about a reduction in consumption.

Higher prices, on the other hand, are merely intended to outline the shape of things to come. There is no intention at this stage of punitive measures directed against power-guzzlers.

To add insult to injury the state governments have so far stymied any progress towards the only two approaches that seems likely to bring about effective consumption cuts.

They were not prepared to endorse higher electricity rates and have effectively impeded by means of pettifogging procedural moves the proposed government grants towards home insulation.

For months property-owners have been reluctant to invest. It would really be outrageous if the state governments were to continue to stonewall in the circumstances.

Bonn must, however, work on the assumption that its energy-saving measures may prove ineffective, so the Federal government is rightly banking on further expansion of power station capacity.

And interestingly enough there has been a distinct shift in emphasis since the party-political conferences of the Social and Free Democrats in November.

Resort to coal-fired power stations, for instance, is to be scaled down to a reasonable level. Subsidies will cost taxpayers and consumers more than enough as it is: 4,100 million deutschmarks in 1978!

Nuclear power, on the other hand, has been upgraded and is now to be developed in moderation in parts of the country that are some way away from the coalfields or where it promises to be substantially less expensive than coal.

No longer is any mention made of the peripheral role the Kiel and Hamburg party conferences envisaged for nuclear power.

Fair enough — always provided the Federal government succeeds in implementing its nuclear waste disposal programme.

Wolfgang Mauersberg

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 16 December 1977)

Nuclear waste disposal brooks no delay

Even after the publication of Bonn's nuclear waste disposal report by Interior Minister Werner Maihofer doubts still remain as to how, in detail, spent nuclear fuel is to be handled and stored until such time as the Gorleben storage and reprocessing centre is opened.

The report nonetheless makes it clear that two temporary storage facilities with a capacity of 1,500 tons each must be built in the near future. One will be in Ahaus, North Rhine-Westphalia, the other in Bavaria.

Bonn's timetable for the construction of Gorleben is as follows. Work will begin on the construction of the reception centre and initial storage of 3,000 tons of spent fuel rods in the first half of 1980, with a view to going operational in 1985.

Construction work on the reprocessing and intermediate storage facilities is scheduled to begin at the end of 1981, with inauguration envisaged in 1989.

Work will begin in mid-1984 for 1991 on the encasement of highly radioactive waste in molten glass, but whether any of these deadlines can be met in another matter.

Gorleben is envisaged as reprocessing 1,400 tons of spent fuel rods a year. It will be the first installation of its kind in the world, and technical hitches will require sorting out in the course of construction.

What is more, many members of the general public can be expected to go to the courts to appeal against planning permission — not to mention the demonstrations that may be expected of the nuclear protest movement.

By 1985, at the present rate, 5,000 tons of nuclear waste will await disposal. By 1990 the amount is expected to have increased to 9,000 tons.

Until such time as Gorleben opens its doors this spent nuclear fuel could well be stockpiled at the power station. The basin that lends itself to adaptation for

Frankfurter Rundschau

this purpose should hold up to eight years' worth of radioactive waste.

According to the Interior Ministry conversion will not invariably necessitate planning permission and the delay that might entail.

This time-consuming procedure will only be required when structural alterations are needed to afford extra protection, so it is, in the final analysis, hard to say what tonnage can be stockpiled where and for how long.

Intermediate storage is also envisaged in two collection centres in North Rhine-Westphalia and Bavaria with a combined capacity of 3,000 tons.

Since not even initial planning permission has been granted for the construction of either of these centres it is useless to speculate as to when they might be in operation.

The third option is "supplementary disposal abroad," by which is meant the arrangement with Cogéma, the French disposal corporation, which is to increase its storage capacity to 3,000 tons by 1981.

Between 1977 and 1979 Cogéma has as good as agreed to take 600 tons of contaminated waste from this country by the terms of a contract with the electric power industry. Terms for the eighties are currently under negotiation.

Cogéma, with waste disposal and processing facilities at Cap La Hague in Normandy, plans to expand to cater for likely custom.

This country is to take back its nuclear waste as soon as suitable disposal facilities are domestically available.

Winfried Didzoleit

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 13 December 1977)

'Natural gas' fresh from the cow

Hannoversche Allgemeine

Cowpats are still in regular use as fuel in the treeless expanses of Anatolia and Iran, where farmers and their wives can be seen shaping briquettes of cow dung that are dried and later put on the fires that warm the peasant families' mud huts.

A report commissioned by energy planners in Switzerland and published in Göttingen, Lower Saxony, indicates that cow dung may yet prove an altogether less primitive source of energy.

Swiss scientists have studied the fermentation of agricultural waste from animal husbandry and concluded that the gas which accumulates if dung is allowed to ferment in an enclosed space might well suffice to meet up to five per cent of Switzerland's power requirements.

They conclude that with the aid of suitable storage facilities, modern fermentation techniques and industrial microbiology, methane generated in this way could make the farming community independent of outside power sources.

The report claims that the biological gas which could be reclaimed from the annual quota of dung supplied by the average Swiss farm's 25 cattle corresponds to 7,000 litres of heating oil.

This 'natural gas' is reported to be excellent for heating and suitable for cooking, powering water heaters, heating buildings, greenhouses and stables, drying hay and grain and even powering stationary combustion engines.

Fuel and power costs have rocketed in agriculture of late, what with the replacement of manpower by machines and the rising cost of energy.

In 1960 farmers in this country spent an estimated 1,000 million deutschmarks on electricity, oil, coal and gas. By 1976 this figure had spiralled to more than 3,700 million deutschmarks.

According to the Göttingen survey farmers in this country now spend three and a half times as much money on energy as on property maintenance. Energy now costs them as much as vehicle maintenance.

The Bonn government recently announced its intention of imposing further increases in the cost of fuel and power.

The price-cost ratio of 'natural gas' has thus been rendered extremely interesting, the authors of the survey claim. The scheme may not yet have been fully costed but they reckon it will be financially worth the farmer's while to aim at generating his own energy.

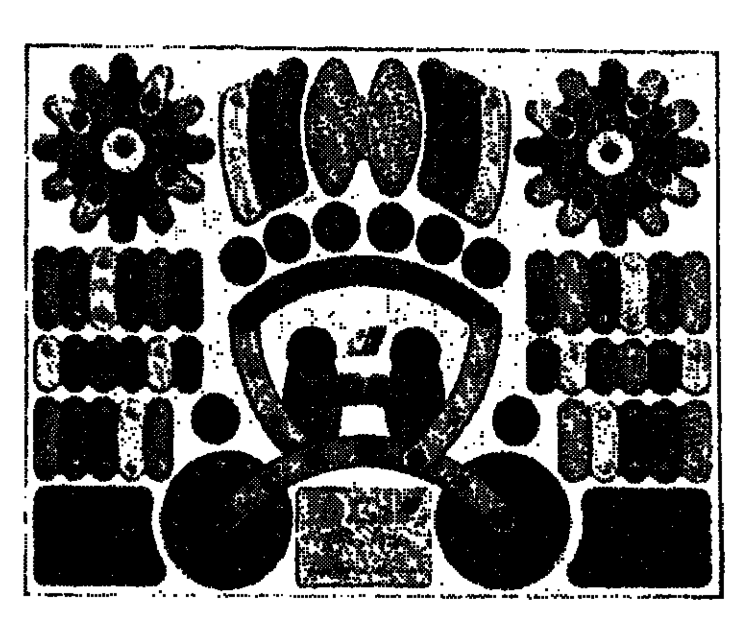
The Göttingen agricultural engineers feel it is high time design engineers and manufacturers got to work on inexpensive installations.

Environmental advantages are claimed as a byproduct. Recycling methane from dung will both cut out unpleasant smells and increase the value of the resulting manure.

So it looks as though city-dwellers are going to have to wave goodbye to one of the smells that has always seemed so typical of country life.

Werner H. T. Fuhrmann/dpa

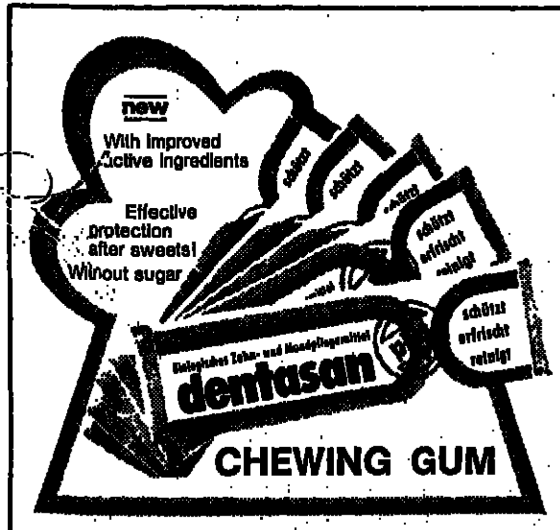
(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 16 December 1977)

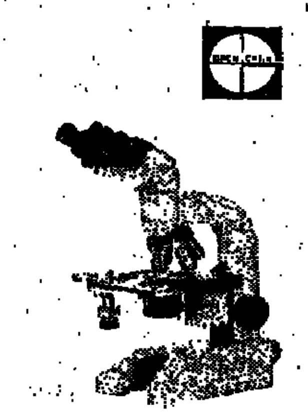












■ CHILDREN

Lassie can be more frightening than Kojak, TV survey concludes

Violence on TV and its effect on children is an issue that has been probed and debated by psychologists, teachers and media specialists for some time. Imme de Haen and Uli Kamp of *Südwestfunk*, the Baden-Baden broadcasting authority, are working on a project in which television itself is trying to contribute towards clarification of the problem. This is a summary of an article in *Medium* magazine in which the authors outline what they hope to achieve in this project, the results of which are to be broadcast in two parts before the end of December.

Television violence is a subject which affects parents and children alike. It affects children in particular because brutal scenes on the screen can, in certain circumstances, cause insecurity, states of fear or a feeling of being threatened. It can increase the likelihood that children who are predisposed to violence become violent.

It affects parents because very often children's behaviour is influenced by what they have seen on the television screen. Parents do not know how to respond to or analyse this behaviour in many cases, because they do not know its causes.

Two departments of *Südwestfunk* in Baden-Baden are working on the project on violence on television: the "Society" department headed by G.A. Bahr, who is also responsible for media analysis, and the "Children and Young People" department, headed by R. Diehm.

The project group's chief aim has been to involve television viewers and so it was quite consistent that the children taking part in the project had no previous experience of television work.

These children, aged from six to ten, met once a week for half a year. None of them knew any of the others before the programme project began. Ten afternoons were then spent working on a kind of basic media course with the children.

Südwestfunk's camera team came to every meeting and recorded the children's reactions as they watched television films. They put these reactions together to form a feature entitled "In face of violence — children and the television screen."

The project ended for the children with work on a programme which they planned and produced together. In this programme they criticise and question common detective film cliches.

The children wrote the script for this scene after they had seen a typical popular television detective film. They had previously interviewed a Heidelberg police superintendent on the difference between fact and television fiction in detective and police work and then worked out an outline plot into which they projected their ideas and thoughts about the typical detective film.

The idea behind this was that children should be made immune to the fascination of television thrillers by allowing them to use television equipment and gadgets and to observe the standard behaviour patterns in such programmes critically.

They were to learn through their own experience that the reality they lived in and the world shown on television were two different things, that television is only an image of reality and only very rarely a true image.

They were shown how and what tricks were used to persuade the viewer that what was happening on the television screen was reality. In other words, the idea was to make them more critical of television without spoiling their fun.

The intention behind the film on children's facial reactions to television violence was to help parents understand how their own children watch television and what effect this has on them and thus to give them an idea of what scenes and actions particularly frighten or disturb children.

This programme was produced from a viewer's point of view, its purpose being to capture him and encourage him to regard himself as an expert. Parents have the best, the most direct access to the problem of children and television and the intention was to put them, too, in a position where they could judge the gap between violence in fact and in television fiction.

The portrayal of violence on television and its effect on children depends on the relationship between the way in which these forms of violence are presented and the child's own reality.

Effect here is to be understood not as a mere stimulus to imitate what has been seen but as the cause of fear and uncertainty which in turn can also lead to aggressive behaviour.

Reality as experienced by the child is formed by a number of factors. A child's age, physical and mental development, capacity for abstract thought, social environment, own experience and the immediate situation in which he finds himself will all influence his response to a violent scene.

What can be stated with certainty is that the closer a violent scene approximates to the reality a child experiences, the greater an effect it will have on that child. From this basic fact certain suppositions can be made:

1. Slapstick programmes (Chaplin, W.C. Fields, Laurel and Hardy etc.) have little to do with the child's own reality. The violence portrayed in such films is cathartic because identification with the figures in the scenes is minimal. Anyone who observes the reactions of a child watching a slapstick film will be able to confirm this.

2. Violence in detective stories where the relation to the child's own reality is tenuous (shoot-outs, rooftop chases, Wild West violence) satisfy the need for adventure and excitement which is particularly strong between the ages of six and thirteen. Such programmes often compensate for the boredom and dreariness of their everyday life.

Children identify with the heroes and therefore to a certain extent not only with the heroes' adventures but also with the violence they use.

However, the world in which this violence occurs is a world of stark and simple contrasts between good and bad, where the happy ending is guaranteed from the start.

This is why films such as these do not, in general, frighten children unduly or make them insecure.

3. Violent situations involving children cause intenser fear reactions in the child because of the greater degree of identification, especially when the situations are very realistic and seem to be taken from children's everyday life. In this respect, *Lassie* can be far more dangerous, i.e. frightening, than *Kojak*.

4. Children feel most threatened when violence is used by magical, fantastic creatures. Here, the intensity of the response is very dependent on the child's development.

Children who still regard themselves as in some way magical or unreal are much more likely to suffer from such films than those who have learned to distinguish between fantasy and reality.

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 16 December 1977)

Kids edit paper for kids in Munich

The journalistic scene in Munich has been livened up recently by a new kind of newspaper written by children for children. There have so far been two issues of this paper which is published by *Pädagogische Aktion*, a group of teachers and social workers who organise leisure programmes for the city's Youth Office.

The newspaper is called *Karussell* and its name indicates its own origins. Although the newspaper is *Pädagogische Aktion's* most spectacular success to date, it is basically only a spin-off from a much larger project.

The group's main activity is a kind of travelling circus. This circus, with its playbus, travels round to the various parts of Munich bringing fun, entertainment and culture to children.

As the group travelled from one suburb to the next with its playbus, someone suggested that they should produce their own newspaper on the project.

With advice and help from the adults in the *Pädagogische Aktion*, and with only the most primitive means at their disposal, they produced a newspaper in which they could express their own creative ideas. They were not really interested in selling it.

This part of the programme gradually became more and more important and last summer the first printed issue of *Karussell* appeared all over Munich. It had the format and well-produced appearance of an "adult" newspaper.

There is, of course, nothing new about newspapers for children and young people. The difference between *Karussell* and such papers is that it is really written and produced by children and young people themselves.

Norbert Erhard, a social worker in the group, comments: "This is what is so special about our paper. Adults have to think hard to find ideas that will appeal to children when they are producing children's magazines. Children do not need to rack their brains for these ideas — they come naturally."

Erhard is legally responsible for the newspaper, but he does not consider himself an adult editor in chief, he is there to help, advise, suggest ideas and correct.

There are fifteen reporters on the paper, aged from eleven to fifteen. Erhard gives these reporters as much scope as possible — for instance at their fortnightly editorial meetings when they discuss what they are going to put into the paper.

At the next session the texts are read out, discussed, criticised, rejected or accepted and edited.

When the density of swearwords and insults about adults gets out of hand, mentor Erhard intervenes and tries to point out that they have to practise a certain amount of self-censorship if they are to avoid being censored from outside.

The first two issues are remarkably fresh and spontaneous. It does not appear to matter at all, for example, that two children come to completely conflicting conclusions on the merits of a popular television serial (perhaps this pluralism is even part of the system).

Daniel, for instance, thinks a that only three to five jokes out of a hundred in the Rudi Carrell Show are really funny. Uwe thinks the show is, on the whole, a success. They are learning young to be critical of the media.

Twelve-year-old Toni enjoys his work on the paper "because I can write without worrying about making mistakes." His fifteen-year-old colleague Thomas "can give free rein to his imagination."

Thirteen-year-old Claudia gives the following reason why she enjoys working on the newspaper:

"It is good to be able to tell other children straight out what I think, and I want to encourage other children to do the same. And we can make fun of anyone, however important they are."

The children have recently been interviewing the candidates for the post of mayor of Munich, and the little interviewers were far more impressive than their interviewees.

Daniel's speciality is parodies of advertising jingles and slogans. He thought up the following slogan for a cigarette brand: "R 6 is for people who want to stop living at six."

Twelve-year-old Nini writes about a frightening encounter with the Black Sheriffs, the ticket collectors on the Munich underground, who can strike fear even into adults. She writes indignantly: "Our parents, too, thought that their nasty, self-important manner stank."

Then there are tips on what's on, reports from local correspondents, book reviews in which words are not minced, small ads ("racing bike and Superman comics for sale — cheap"), stories about people in Munich and so on.

It is full of variety and surprises. Norbert Erhard says: "Writing the articles is no problem at all. Selling and delivering is a bit more difficult, though."

There is plenty of interest in the paper itself, which costs thirty pfennigs but not enough children to deliver it despite the fact that they can keep five pfennigs for every copy sold.

Despite the difficulties, this paper is no nine days' wonder. It has been planned to last, and the reporters have already got plenty of ideas together for the next issue. They are even going to get a distributor for the paper.

Obviously, the present generation of reporters are getting older. Erhard is hoping to get a team together which will then produce a newspaper for the next age-group and he is confident of recruiting replacements for his press staff then.

Rudolf Grosskopff

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, 25 December 1977)



■ EDUCATION

Kiel educationalist gives school grading system bad marks

An average of five million marks are awarded in German schools every day. The sum of these marks often determines the pupil's profession, social status and indeed his entire life.

For many young people in today's critical economic situation, marks are a negative factor, debarring them from the professions they would have wished to enter.

Given the overriding importance of school marks and grades it is an appalling fact that they are neither objective nor comparable. Marking systems and criteria differ from school to school and even from one class to the next within the same school.

In practice, this means that a change of class can lead to a spectacular change in marks. Cases have been known where pupils have risen or dropped by up to four grades (grades range from one to six in descending order of merit).

These changes were not, however, accompanied by any objective change in achievement. Even in mathematics, which is often considered a subject in which objective assessment is possible, it has been known for pupils to get grade two (good) and five (unsatisfactory) for tests in which their performances were basically the same.

One can read about these and similar discrepancies in a book called *Zensuren? Zensuren!* (Marks and more Marks), written by Professor Gottfried Schröter of Kiel Teachers' Training College. It is an analysis of the present state of research on marking.

Empirical studies, including an analysis of degree dissertations by Dr Schröter's students, have shown that there were no uniform assessment criteria or marking systems in any of the subjects analysed.

On the contrary. As Dr Schröter puts it, there was an "incredible multiplicity" in the criteria by which teachers judge pupils' performances in tests. This was particularly noticeable in the case of marks awarded for oral work, where there was total reliance on the teacher's "natural talent."

Thirty-four teachers of history at Kiel secondary schools were asked what their marking systems for oral work were. It turned out that each had a different system.

One teacher insisted that all his pupils know the dates of the major historical events, another laid more emphasis on ability to interpret texts and sources, another on establishing connections between historical structures and processes. Another teacher might award more marks for "interest" and participation by a pupil.

One teacher gave most marks for well prepared and delivered talks by pupils during the lesson, whereas another was most impressed by pupils' ability to answer revision questions at the beginning of the lesson.

Eight to ten per cent of teachers asked categorically refused to award marks for oral work during the lessons "because this inhibits the weaker pupil and leads to frustration on his or her part."

This may seem a perceptive point, but on the other hand how is a teacher to judge pupils and write fair school reports if he does not note down the details of their performance during lessons — especially when he may have a total of three to four hundred pupils?

The weight attached to oral and written marks is also highly problematic. The analysis of geography teachers' marking systems revealed some alarming discrepancies.

One teacher said that seventy per cent of the term mark in his subject was based on oral work, another said that it only counted for thirty per cent with him.

Between ten and forty-five per cent of the final term mark is based on class tests, between zero and forty per cent based on homework.

Some teachers even give ten per cent of the final mark for good behaviour. In the case of history, no teacher attached more importance to written than to oral work in determining the final term mark.

In music and art, intuition, feeling or "individual marking schemes" played an even greater part in determining the pupil's final mark. One teacher automatically awarded the mark "good" to every one of his pupils who sang in the school choir, another favoured pupils who played a musical instrument, another stressed the importance of musical history.

The classical and most often quoted example of dramatic divergences in marking is the assessment of the essay or composition. Here, the teacher cannot avoid a certain amount of subjectivity.

In the early seventies Professor Schröter conducted an analysis of the fairness of essay marks awarded to primary and secondary school pupils between the ages of eight and sixteen.

He looked at 6,000 essays altogether



and chose 617 as being "particularly problematic." These were then sent to subject teachers via the local education offices. In more than ten per cent of all cases, five or six different marks were awarded for one and the same composition.

Dr Schröter was heavily attacked by senior school teachers of German on the conclusions of his first survey. This prompted him to take a look at compositions by senior school pupils and the marks awarded.

The results Professor Schröter and his colleagues come up with in this case are, if anything, even more disturbing than the first survey.

They found that the marking of compositions in the upper classes of senior schools showed even more discrepancies than in the case of primary and secondary school pupils, where the marks were often "bunched."

Dr Schröter took seven essay titles and sent the essays on them to 72 grammar school teachers of German all over the country. Not a single teacher awarded the same — or even similar marks — to all seven essays.

He found that the German teachers reacted very differently to the essay subjects set. No teacher seemed to approve of them all. This does not surprise Professor Schröter. He is highly critical of the fact that a whole range of subjects seem to be "simply forbidden" in the upper classes of senior schools.

He points out that "all they seem to do in their essays is reflect, compare, analyse and review, as if they were budding philosophers, book reviewers or publisher's readers ..." and goes on to ask "why can't older senior school pupils write about their own experiences and the questions that directly affect them?"

Dr Schröter says there is for too much emphasis on questions such as "Define the difference between enthusiasm and fanaticism" which could be discussed in sociology or philosophy instead of in German lessons.

Dr Schröter suggests that "teacher groups" should practise marking together in an attempt to reduce some of the grosser discrepancies in marking. This has been done in some cases and results have been encouraging. "Sensible discussion on marking systems was possible."

Some teachers have proposed that the traditional essay should be got rid of and replaced with "texts" such as instructions for using mixers and the like. Dr Schröter points out that this is no solution because experiments have shown that marking systems for this kind of work are scarcely more uniform than those for the traditional essay.

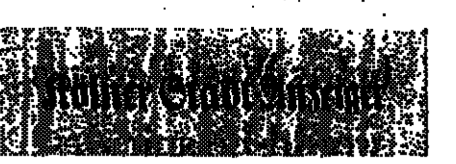
Precise analyses of marking systems have shown how extreme discrepancies in marks awarded can come about even in mathematics. These analyses show that the final mark depends largely on how many marks the teacher decided to award beforehand for each problem or part of a problem solved correctly.

The fewer marks awarded for each problem, the poorer the overall standard in that particular test tended to be. Gottfried Schröter suggests that the solution here is to award more marks for each problem. This would allow more differentiation in marking and give a more accurate overall picture.

Renate I. Mreschar

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 19 December 1977)

'Is school fit for children?' Munich youth institute asks



The *Deutsches Jugendinstitut* (German Youth Institute) called at its recent meeting in Munich for a greater degree of co-determination for school pupils and also said that adults should show more understanding for schoolchildren's difficulties.

It went on to say that education was too important a matter to be left to educationalists and experts, the administrators and the high earners. Many of these so-called experts were now so bemused that they would wish to see many of the reforms already introduced reversed.

In a document entitled "Is school fit for children?", the *DJI* comes to the conclusion that nine out of ten parents choose their children's schools for them without even consulting them.

The parental choice of secondary school is almost invariably based on marks and recommendations from the primary school which parents accepted unquestioningly.

The *DJI* points out that it is virtually impossible to award marks fairly. Fair marking would mean judging all pupils by the same standards, making no distinctions between them on grounds of family, social problems, and the pupils' own personal difficulties. It was precisely here that teachers were confronted with the "limits of fairness."

Seven out of ten parents also chose their children's profession for them. This choice was often based on inadequate information — "this is a job with a future, the man next door is doing such and such a job and he is earning good money etc."

Reformed schools with orientation levels (where all pupils study together for the first two years of secondary school and are then separated according to academic ability) and *Gesamtschulen* (comprehensive schools) give pupils better chances than the present three-school system (grammar schools, technical schools and secondary modern schools).

The DJI claims, however, that this is still not enough and the only real solution would be a completely integrated comprehensive school where all pupils studied together.

The German Youth Institute advocates "democratic co-determination in the pupil/teacher learning group." Within such a community of interests, attempts could be made to reform curricula and change some of the more outmoded bureaucratic decrees and regulations.

One hears innumerable complaints these days of "lack of authority and discipline in schools." The DJI argues that this is because children today are less afraid of adults in general, not that the teacher is losing authority. After pupils have reached a certain age, the teacher's personality is the decisive factor, and not his position of authority.

When teachers talk about marks, getting good leaving certificates, the difficulty of finding apprenticeships and unemployment among the young, many pupils interpret this as a kind of veiled threat.

Many pupils went through the motions at school, doing what was required of them but not seeing its relevance to their situation.

They often repressed their own real needs and felt under considerable stress. Or else they just gave up, or rebelled.

"Stress, resignation and rebellion," the DJI concludes "are not the problems, they are merely symptoms of a social dilemma."

Karl Stankiewitz

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 15 December 1977)

■ HEALTH

Psychoanalyst identifies 'helper syndrome' among health service and social workers

Statisticians maintain that the emotional and psychological well-being of medical doctors leaves a great deal to be desired. The suicide rate in the medical profession is almost triple the national average, doctors have more marital problems and the divorce rate among their number is above average.

They are more frequently admitted to psychiatric wards and resort more often than the average citizen to psychopharmaca, dope and alcohol.

Similar symptoms of psychological imbalance are to be found among other *therapeutic professions and among social* workers — including kindergarten teachers, clergymen and psychologists.

Psychoanalyst Wolfgang Schmidbauer has now bared the roots of the problem. Having in previous years already drawn attention to himself by publications on behavioural psychology, he has now come up with a new book bearing the provocative title *Die hilflosen Helfer. Über die seelische Problematik der helfenden Berufe* (The Helpless Helpers — The Psychological Problems of the Therapeutic Professions).

The focal point of this paperback is the damaged psychological structure among members of the therapeutic professions, social workers and the clergy.

On the basis of numerous case histories Schmidbauer describes in his book as a psychological peculiarity the professional altruism of the people concerned.

According to the author, it is typical of such psychological defects that professional people accept the weakness and the need for treatment of their patients whereas the image of their profession must be kept free of such "blemishes" at any cost.

This emotional helplessness of the helpers and the misery behind the facade of strength was the pivot of Schmidbauer's therapeutic work as a psychoanalyst in group-dynamic training *of members of these professions.*

He named this phenomenon the "helper syndrome" which is an amalgam of personality traits through which social assistance becomes a rigid way of life at the expense of the individual professional's own personality development.

Wolfgang Schmidbauer describes this phenomenon as follows: "The basic problem of a person with a helper syndrome is his social facade which is orientated by a rigid ego ideal, the functioning of which is controlled by a critical and malignant super-ego.

"The individual's own weakness and need of help is ignored and denied ... wishes are collected and then hurled at the environment in the form of accusations unless more indirect wish-expressions gain the upper hand — as for instance drug addiction, suicide or psychosomatic ailments as a self-destructive appeal to others for help."

Is social assistance thus to be interpreted as a defence attitude against fears and emptiness, against wishes and needs?

Schmidbauer describes the emotional situation of a person with a helper syndrome as that of a "neglected, hungry baby behind a magnificent facade of strength." Translated into the terminology of a psychoanalyst, this amounts to an "oral personality."

Says the author: "The patient's narcissistic needs for an open exchange of emotions cannot be satisfied because they can be expressed only indirectly through rigid adherence to the helper role.

"In helper syndrome cases the possibilities of satisfying these needs through relations with others are developed in a very one-sided way.

"Due to the early and marked split between the facade and the child, the oral need for attention, confirmation and being fed in emotional terms remain on a primitive level of development.

"Vicarious satisfaction is sought in drugs, the use of which sets in at this stage ... the pithy axiom whereby 'drugs are poisonous mother's milk' hits the nail on head.

"Suicide fantasy also provides succour in this situation of being overtaxed by an unattainable ego ideal and by the emotional threat through narcissistic slight."

In the final analysis, says Schmidbauer, the helper syndrome has its roots in early childhood disappointments with the individual's mother. Since the person concerned has never been accepted by his mother he remains throughout his life in quest of such acceptance by others.

Says the author: "The loss of the mother's care is compensated for by identification with the ideal of such care. In other words, the helper assumes the role of the mother who failed and tries to treat others in the manner he or she would have wanted to be treated.

"The intention is not to satisfy the individual's own needs — since this would revive the early pain of having lacked the required care — but those of a helpless and grateful object."

The success of such efforts in a person with a helper syndrome remains ambivalent, no matter how much he hankers for such success. Although a successful client stabilises the self-assurance of the helper, he also threatens it.

The reason for this lies in the fact that a cured patient will sooner or later leave the helper — a thought which the person with a helper syndrome with all his hunger for recognition finds hard to tolerate. He thus prefers to see his *charges small, weak and in need of care.*

Schmidbauer (and not only he) claims to have observed that nurses, for instance, are more sympathetic towards patients while they are bedridden and completely helpless.

The reasons named by him are the childhood needs of those concerned.

The author writes: "How much the mother-hen attitude is coupled with the person's own infantile needs is frequently demonstrated by the manner in which nurse's rooms are decorated with teddy bears and other cuddly animals."

The latent need of the helper can be satisfied in those instances where he becomes the central person in his patient's life.

The lengths to which helpers will go in order to achieve this objective is borne out by the "rooming-in" phenomenon. Rooming-in is the permanent togetherness of mother and child in the maternity ward or the simultaneous admittance to hospital of an infant and one parent in cases where the child has *to be hospitalised.*

Child psychiatrists are agreed that this system eliminates the painful separation *fears of the child, thus preventing psychological disturbances.*

But some paediatric nurses and paediatricians oppose rooming-in. They feel that this disrupts the orderly work in a ward and that it can give rise to dangerous infectious diseases.

According to Herr Schmidbauer, however, these are pure subterfuges. The mothers or fathers who are admitted to hospital together with the infant are considered competitors by the medical and nursing staff and as such they jeopardise the claim to authority over the helpless patient.

Comments the author: "Behind this argument is the unmistakable fear of having to share sole authority over the child patient with others. Relatives of the child are disturbing factors for the nurses.

"On a rational level, they interfere with the necessary sterility of a hospital ward. But unconsciously, relatives of the child patient detract from the latter's sole dependence and gratitude."

According to Schmidbauer, the helper syndrome has not only individual but also social manifestations. The most important of these are homes for infants and children, educational institutions and above all the major mental clinics.

In Schmidbauer's view, "these institutions demonstrate with particular clarity how the defensive nature of helping can turn something beneficial into a scourge and something rational into nonsense — and how children, under the pretext of caring for them, can be psychologically destroyed and how the so-called 'mentally ill' gradually erode emotionally due to the treatment they receive from doctors and nurses.

"The common denominator of such damage is psychological hospitalism, namely psychological disturbances which occur in people who have had to spend prolonged periods in such institutions."

A change for the better can be brought about only by better psycho-hygienic training and more stringent control of the relevant professions.

The author believes that the helpers should arrive at a better awareness of their own motivation for the help they provide. Self-experience is the best way of dealing with the helper syndrome. Recognising the danger is virtually tantamount to conquering it.

The therapy is more difficult in case of institutions where only elimination of some of the bureaucracy and more determination and democratisation can help.

Says the author: "I feel that a democratisation of hospitals and institutions *such as welfare offices, orphanages and* guardianship authorities is the only way of putting a stop to proliferating bureaucracy and the indirect aggression that go with it."

Ulla Fölsing

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, 18 December 1977)

Wolfgang Schmidbauer: *Die hilflosen Helfer - Über die seelische Problematik der helfenden Berufe* (The Helpless Helpers — Psychological Problems of the Therapeutic Professions) Rowohlt Verlag, Hamburg; 224 pp, DM19.80

Intensive care ward helps West Berlin's would-be suicides

It was a grey September morning in West Berlin's Kreuzberg district when a sixteen-year-old secondary school student decided to do away with herself following a dispute with her parents. She took an overdose of sleeping pills but was found in the nick of time and taken to the emergency ward of Berlin's Urban Hospital.

But next morning, contrary to usual practice, she was not taken to a mental clinic. Instead, she was transferred to the so-called Crisis Intervention Centre of the Urban Hospital's Psychiatric Department. This centre is considered exemplary in the field of community-oriented psychiatry.

Since the establishment of the centre in early 1977, close to 400 attempted suicides have received treatment there and been given the necessary moral support.

The doctors believe that, following such intensive care, the possibility of another attempt at suicide is considerably smaller than after conventional treatment.

Three doctors, three social workers and six nurses and orderlies work around the clock in the six-bed ward.

According to the medical director, Heinz Edelmann, seven out of ten patients were in a condition to be sent home after four days of treatment.

Says Dr Edelmann: "When they wake up they are frequently so depressed that they'd rather be dead. But as soon as we have talked to them and pointed the way, they want to continue living and are glad to have been saved."

Of the 382 patients who had been treated at the centre by the end of October, 155 (40.6 per cent) were men and 227 (59.4 per cent) were women.

According to statistics prepared for *the Berlin Senate,* the youngest patient was aged ten and the oldest eighty-four.

Most of them (30.1 per cent) belong to the age group between 21 and thirty, 17.3 per cent were aged between eleven and twenty and 27.7 per cent between 31 and forty. The suicide ratio diminishes conspicuously among those aged over forty.

According to staff at the centre, the patients are surprised and delighted to find that somebody is prepared to talk to them. Although the attempted suicide is essentially a cry for help, the victim does not expect such comprehensive care as provided by the Crisis Intervention Centre.

As opposed to conventional medicine where too little attention is paid to the patient and the social circumstances surrounding the attempted suicide, the centre permits him to rest on the first day.

On the second day the staff engage him in purpose-oriented conversation and also talk to his relatives, friends and at times, his employer.

After three to four days a decision can usually be reached as to whether further treatment in a closed psychiatric ward is necessary or whether outpatient treatment will suffice.

The third phase is devoted to the patient's outward orientation. Contacts with authorities, institutions and charitable organisations are intended to enable the patient to take hold of himself.

Even so, a cause of considerable headaches for Dr Edelmann and his staff

Continued on page 14

■ OUR WORLD

Krishna disciples on trial in Frankfurt

DEUTSCHES ALLGEMEINES SONNTAGSBLATT

Even before the actual proceedings in the Frankfurt court began a couple of weeks ago, the public prosecutor anticipated a "fun trial." Ten members of the Hare Krishna sect, clad in saffron robes and with shaved heads, appeared — murmuring prayers. And indeed there was general merriment as bystanders watched them walk past the television cameras.

Public prosecutor Hans-Gero Schomberg spent three years investigating before he was able to prepare the 75-page indictment. The Krishna disciples stand accused of numerous crimes. They include fraudulent begging, embezzlement, enticement of children and violations of the firearms legislation.

During the forty trial days set aside for the case, it is expected that 136 witnesses will be heard. The defendants are supported by 27 court-appointed lawyers plus two attorneys of their own choice.

They are alleged to have fraudulently amassed through begging some 2.4 million deutschmarks of which, according to the prosecution, 1.8 million was spent for purposes contrary to the statutes of their association, *namely for bail, loans and for the production of books and records.* Only 15,000 deutschmarks are said to have been spent for the purported purpose, namely the famine-stricken children of India.

Although the evidence in support of the charges seems adequate, the very first day of the trial showed that public prosecutor Schomberg had bitten off more than he could chew.

While the prosecutor is trying to prove that *the entire Krishna sect is a fraudulent* gang of beggars, the defence accused him of depicting a lopsided picture of the defendants.

The polite Krishna disciples embarked on a cleverly executed strategy whereby the court was not trying a simple case of embezzlement but that the case before the judge was religious freedom itself.

Prosecutor Schomberg, in dealing with this accusation, might well have to cross swords with an international authority on religious affairs, the American theologian and Harvard professor Harvey Cox.

Asked for his opinion by the defence, the professor is prepared to confirm that the Hare Krishna movement is deeply rooted in India's culture and has been in existence for 5,000 years. This has meanwhile also been confirmed by a US court.

The International Society for Krishna Consciousness (ISKCON), which was founded in America in the mid-sixties, has some 100 active followers in the Federal Republic of Germany and is primarily known for its pushiness towards pedestrians while begging. It has thus been existence in the West for only ten years or so.

But even so, the prosecutor will have a hard time proving the misappropriation of donations. First complications arose with regard to the personal data of the defendants. Thus, for instance, the defence maintains that the exotic religious names with which the disciples have adorned themselves are not personal data but data relevant only to their religion.



Krishna disciples in the Frankfurt court (Photo: dpa)

How is the prosecution to prove that a begging letter signed *Chakravarty Das* is actually attributable to Peter Kaufmann?

Meanwhile, prosecutor Schomberg who — even after the first day — was anything but happy about the course the trial has taken seems to have come to terms with the fact that he will demand no more than a six-month sentence.

The case against the founder of the movement, His Divine Grace B.S. Prabhupada, has in any event already been dropped. Prabhupada, born around the turn of the century in Calcutta, died in New Delhi in mid-November.

In order to counter any possible accu*sations of curtailing the freedom of religion*, the presiding judge sustained in the very beginning of the proceedings two defence motions.

The first granted 37-year old American Hans Kary the right to call himself an ordained priest — whereupon the latter held the floor with a lengthy lecture for the record on the love of God and God's love of people. Commented the presiding judge: "These facts are known to the court."

The judge also showed indulgence concerning the second defence motion which he sustained, granting the defendants the right to take time out for prayers.

It was thus ruled that the proceedings would be interrupted every ninety minutes for that very purpose. But eventually all other participants in the trial benefited from the break.

The Krishna disciples must say the *Mahamantra* 1,728 times a day. Since they usually rise around 3.00 a.m. they have a chance to say several hundred *Mahamantras* before the day's proceedings begin.

A major point of the indictment could well prove no more than a misdemeanour as the case progresses. After some firearms were found at the Krishna headquarters Rettershof Castle, the inhabitants declared that they had frequently been threatened by rockers.

For the time being our Krishna disciples have also no reason to worry about the 660,000 deutschmarks that were confiscated.

In order to avoid possible damage suits, public prosecutor Schomberg placed the money in a trust account, investing it at such favourable terms that the present balance amounts to DM760,000.

Thus the main defendants might well leave the courtroom with a profit. No Krishna disciple has ever invested the movement's money as cleverly as has the prosecutor.

Gerda Marie Schönfeld

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, 18 December 1977)

Intensive care ward

Continued from page 12

the lack of an open psycho-social counselling institution, of facilities for further care (above all where children and young people are concerned), the shortage of communal housing with the possibility of therapeutic care and inadequate possibilities for the counselling of foreigners in case of psychological and family problems.

As a result, it happens time and again that some of the patients return to the centre in order to talk it out with counsellors with whom they are familiar.

The Kreuzberg model has its origins in Holland where such centres have been in operation for a number of years in The Hague, Amsterdam and Groningen.

Due to the positive experience that has been made with this type of community-oriented psychiatry, Berlin's Senator for Public Health, Erich Paetzold, now intends to establish similar centres in all West Berlin districts which have hospitals with a sizeable psychiatric department.

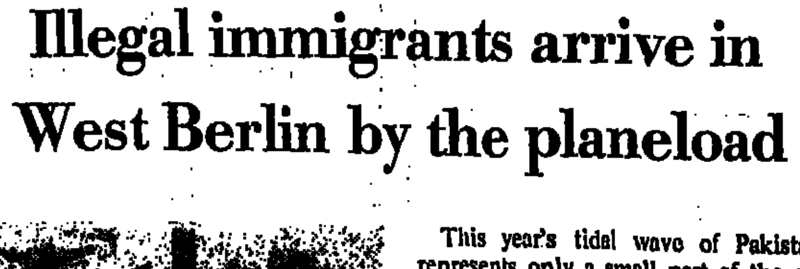
In view of the high suicide rate in that city, Berlin is badly in need of such intensive care centres. In fact, West Berlin holds the record where suicides are *concerned, with 749 last year.* This equals 38.1 suicides for every 100,000 inhabitants. The national average is 21.5 per 100,000.

Many of those who succeeded in committing suicide did so at the second or third attempt. They might not have done so had they been treated in a Crisis Intervention Centre.

Volker Skierka

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 10 December 1977)

Illegal immigrants arrive in West Berlin by the planeload



Using chartered aircraft, Berlin Senate recently deported for the second time within a week numerous Pakistanis *who had entered the city illegally.*

The unwelcome guests had been apprehended a few days earlier as they attempted to enter the "Golden West" through East Berlin.

The continuous influx of Pakistanis which lasted for weeks gave the Berlin Senate the idea of making headlines by means of such a spectacular deportation action.

This year's tidal wave of Pakistanis represents only a *small* part of the constant influx into West Berlin. The city has had to cope with a Turkish wave as well as with a groundswell of Jordanians.

Thousands immigrate illegally every year. The pattern of this immigration is always the same: a flight to East Berlin and then via the metropolitan transport system to one of the 173 surface and underground stations of West Berlin.

Most of these illegal immigrants arrive with addresses of certain lawyers who would make out their applications for political asylum.

Berlin's senator of the interior stressed recently that none of the 228 deported Pakistanis who had sought asylum were subject to political persecution at home.

They had been lured to Berlin by confidence men, and many of them had to sell all their possessions in order to pay for the trip.

If the illegal entrant succeeds in filing an application for asylum he must receive welfare payments *until* the case has been ruled upon, which has been known to take up to seven years.

The 6,000 applicants for asylum that constitute a considerable financial burden on the city, and since the border between the two parts of Berlin remains open — at least in one direction — confidence men will continue to do a booming business.

The illegal immigrants have already found a way of overcoming the advantage which the police enjoy. Their asylum applications are filled out at home under the guidance of experts, and all they need to do on stepping on West Berlin territory is to cry loudly: "Asylum ... asylum!" By *doing* so they already have the law on their side.

Otto Jörg Weis

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 14 December 1977)

